/44 cont./

538 or the Pleiades. The Indians also say that he converted his wife
756 into a little melero /"honey dealer"/ dog, his little son into a frog, and that the spawning of fish at the beginning of the period of heavy showers of rain coincides with the day when Chirikavai hit the ceiling of the sky with a great shaking, thus giving rise to the storms and showers of the winter.

Of Maichapué, another of the legendary piaches, they say that he converted little pieces of cassava and ají into a number of birds that might alert him to the nearness of his enemies, that he was helped by his yachí in the difficult undertakings to which he was submitted as a test by his father-in-law, Anhuoná or Etitó (king of the two-headed vultures), in payment for his daughter, whom he had stolen away by astutely pretending to be a decomposing corpse.

756 Not long ago the Indian, Daniel Karoi, a resident of Santa
[115] Teresita de Kavanayén and his sister Luisa, who came from the Tiriká River, told me that their grandfather had been /45/ a piache and that he lighted his pipe without needing fire and that he could rise and play the part of the murei as if he were a real monkey. I do not know with certainty up to what point the piaches' deceptions can go, but I do not believe -- from what I have seen -- that these go beyond childish and easily uncovered tricks; I deduce this from the great admiration which they manifest for our magic tricks and little tricks of combination and prestidigitation.

000 99. This brief study of the piache will once more convince my readers that when imagination replaces intelligence and phantasmagorias replace reality, among Indians they can come to be a fertile source not only of tales and legends, but also of falsified religion, falsified medicine, etc. Therefore, Coué wrote quite correctly although with obvious exaggeration: "it is not will which makes them work, but imagination." And A. Bouyssonie also wrote that "magic is a materialistic falsification of religion."

/59 cont./
the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synomym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the principal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, rató, mayikó, rató, etc.

When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details.
J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

128 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montes-
128 deoca, who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
● 116 recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[19] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observa-
128 tions are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertain-
123 ing to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

539 etserukε marodɛn maicha'-ya moro?
use. Forthwith Maichak fishy
to use the gourd bottle. Then Maichak emptied (from

tuna anokapɛ̃tipə to? anumbatupõyε
water emptied then gathered.
the river) the water containing fishes and gathered them (the fishes).

mono-pε moro' anumbatupε itetsεton-ya
For a time fish gathered. His brothers-in-law
He continued to gather fish for some time. His brothers-in-law

itεtseru putu pura yetsipə teumo-dakarə
his method know(ing) not were his (own) son with
did not know how he did this. Only his son was

leukin yepətipə moro' anumupə
only was fish gathered.
with him when they gathered fish.

Linguistic Affinities

"Ancient Kamarakoto."

*197 173 Several of the better informed Kamarakotos assured me that their speech is not "real Kamarakoto," although it goes by that name among them and all the neighboring tribes, but has replaced an older language which was Kamarakoto, strictly speaking. This "ancient" or "real" Kamarakoto is now extinct. No one can speak it and no one knows much about it except that it was quite [115] unlike the present speech. The combined efforts of most of the older and more intelligent men of the tribe produced five isolated words and one phrase which are claimed to be ancient Kamarakoto, handed down in the tribe from father to son from very remote times. The phrase, "It is dawn, son, get up!" is peculiar, but is consistent with the memory of an ancient language heard in childhood and later forgotten except for a few scraps more indelibly impressed.

These words are as follows:

*192 *197

Translation	"Ancient" Kamarakoto"	Modern Kamarakoto	Taurepan	Others
1. Forest	icha	chureta	tu'rita	Chaima (Adam y-uto, y-ucha.

1/4 101 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central group. 98

Census

103 162 115 125 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162 551 621 622

Name of place	Head man (to?-esa?)	Number of men
KAMARATA:		
Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
Aleuíba.	Juan José.	1
	Total in Kamarata - 11	
AKANAMUINTA:		
Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
	Total in Akanamuinta-12	
AKANAN VALLEY:		
Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
	(Lorenzo. 99	3
Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel. 99	4
Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
Uaikimba?.	Pablo Abati.	1
Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

241
115
141
291

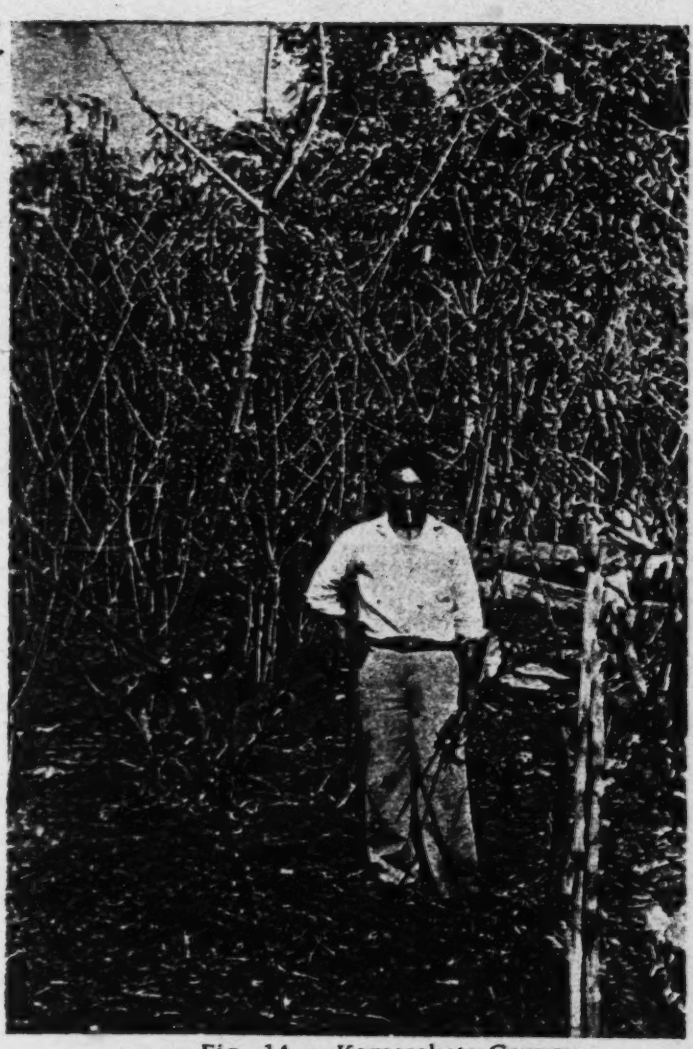

Fig. 14 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
Another part of the same conuco as in Fig. 13, here with a fairly pure stand of mature Manihot, the principal crop. The man (Antonio Montesdeoca, a Kamarakoto) is 1.55 meters in height.

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[268] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[72] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Maiuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[78] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[24] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
● [115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181–184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 – Analyst]

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word
● 115 ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes near-
194 er than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been
194 called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or
114 whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the
[104] Caroní that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoní at this late date.
[114] Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these indi-
[825] viduals. No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoní is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoní is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaŕ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.